

Gift of
Mrs. (Marcella Burns) Hahner

THE COMPLETE WORKS
OF
FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

The First Complete and Authorised English Translation

EDITED BY
DR. OSCAR LEVY



VOLUME EIGHTEEN

INDEX TO THE COMPLETE
WORKS

*Of the First Edition
containing Fifteen Hundred Copies
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INDEX TO NIETZSCHE

COMPILED BY
ROBERT GUPPY

VOCABULARY OF FOREIGN QUOTATIONS
OCCURRING IN THE WORKS OF NIETZSCHE

TRANSLATED BY
PAUL V. COHN, B.A.

*With an Introductory Essay :
The Nietzsche Movement in England
(A Retrospect—a Confession—a Prospect)*

By DR OSCAR LEVY

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ERRATA

IN accordance with the request made by a number of subscribers the Editor begs to announce that these volumes have been re-arranged and are now in chronological order. So that the volume numbers found in the index contained in the eighteenth volume may more readily be referred to, it is suggested that the following corrections be made on the half-titles of these volumes:—

The Birth of Tragedy (III.), now Vol. I.

Thoughts Out of Season, Vol. I. (I.), now Vol. IV.

Do. do. Vol. II. (II.), now Vol. V.

Human, All-too-Human, Vol. I. (VII.), now Vol. VI.

Thus Spake Zarathustra (IV.), now Vol. XI.

Beyond Good and Evil (V.), now Vol. XII.

Will to Power, Vol. I. (IX.), now Vol. XIV.

THE NIETZSCHE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

A RETROSPECT, A CONFESSION, AND
A PROSPECT

BY THE EDITOR

WITH this—the eighteenth and last volume of the authorised translation of Nietzsche's works into English—a task is brought to an end which it has taken twenty years to carry to a final and successful conclusion. It was in the year 1893 that Nietzsche's name is first mentioned in one of the books of the unfortunate English poet John Davidson. In the following year a group of German, English, and Scottish admirers of Nietzsche arranged to bring out an authorised version of the German thinker's works, three volumes of which were actually published in 1896 and 1897. The reception of these books was so discouraging that no further arrangements could be made by the publishing firm, which shortly afterwards, owing chiefly to the extensive liabilities incurred by the Nietzsche edition, had to give up business. In the next six years—from 1897 to 1903—in spite of various endeavours by some indefatigable defenders of the faith, it was found absolutely impossible to get a hear-

ing for Nietzsche either with the public, the Press, or the publishers. Their hopes went down to freezing-point when, in 1903, *The Dawn of Day* was given to the public, only to meet again with a cold reception. But in 1907 the party had somewhat recovered its spirit, and as a last experiment brought out a translation of *Beyond Good and Evil*—this time at private risk, for no publisher could be induced to take up an author twice repudiated. This translation was one which had been made nearly ten years ago, but until then had never seen, and was never expected to see, the light of publicity. It turned out to be a success—a half-hearted success perhaps, but one that at last told the few inmates of the Nietzschean ark that the waters of democracy had diminished, and that at least some higher peaks of humanity were free from the appalling deluge. The success encouraged them once more to take up their old project of the publication of the complete works. New arrangements were made with the Nietzsche-Archiv, whose authorities were found most willing to come to another agreement for a fresh edition. In May 1909 the first four volumes of this, the present translation, left the press and were favourably received, though yet by a small and none too enthusiastic public. Towards the end of the same year three more volumes were published. In 1910 and 1911 the remaining ten volumes of the translation appeared, while most of the previously published volumes went into a second and even a third edition. No volume was published in 1912, but with the index the last and, as is to be hoped, a very useful volume is added to this, the most complete and voluminous translation of any foreign philosopher into the English language.

So the hour of victory has arrived at last, and over some of my fellow-workers upon this edition, I know, there has come a feeling not unlike that experienced by the Great Frederick's grenadiers after the battle of Leuthen—the feeling of an over-full and grateful heart, which at the close of the victorious day made all the soldiers round their camp-fires burst out into the grave and stirring tunes of the Lutheran hymn: “Now thank we all our God!” Unfortunately (or fortunately) the brave Nietzscheans are in the same position as the Great Frederick himself, who, being a Voltairian, was probably the only one present who could not join in the chorus of thanks to the Higher Power, because *he* knew that the Higher Power generally fights on the side of the Higher Will-Power; because *he* knew that the firm will of a small minority can move even the mountain of the highest majority. But let us forget just for the moment that flattering comparison with the great Prussian King and his grenadiers, and let us rather adopt a little of that humility so dear to our antagonists; for by adopting sincerely that attitude we may possibly conciliate to a certain extent a religion whose weaknesses we have fought with such unexpected success. Let us be modest as to our achievement, and let us openly confess that our work of translation, as it now appears, is by no means so perfect as might be desired, that it not only falls short of the original, as most translations must, but that it probably contains various errors which may have arisen from a misinterpretation of Nietzsche. True, every possible care has been taken to avoid such errors; and every nerve was strained by the translators to reproduce the racy, witty, picturesque style of Nietzsche in adequate

English, but no man, however versatile, can hope to understand another perfectly; and no translator, however gifted, can pretend to equal in another tongue the endlessly rich nuances and rhythms of a poet like Nietzsche. Will our readers kindly forgive us if we have not always attained an ideal which was too high above us to be reached at all; will they forgive us when we assure them that no one has suffered from that unattained ideal more than ourselves? I sincerely hope that we shall be judged with indulgence on this point, especially when I repeat here the promise I made in the Editorial Note to one of the first volumes of this edition (*Thoughts out of Season*, vol. i. p. viii): "As this cause is somewhat holy to me, I am ready to listen to any suggestions as to improvements of style or sense coming from qualified sources. . . . I have not entered into any engagements with publishers, not even with the present one, which could hinder my task, bind me down to any text found faulty, or make me consent to omission or falsification or "sugaring" of the original text to further the sales of the books. I am therefore in a position to give every attention to a work which I consider as of no less importance for the country of my residence than for the country of my birth, as well as for the rest of Europe."

But while we may well be modest about what we have done, it would be absurd to play the humble hypocrite about the fact that we have done it, that we have been able to secure a public for Nietzsche in England at all. For England was no doubt the most important country of all to conquer for Nietzschean thought. I do not mean on account of her ubiquitous language, thanks to which Nietzsche is now read not

only in South Africa and Australia, in Canada and America, but even upon the banks of the Nile and the Ganges, and under the pagodas and cherry-trees of China and Japan. I am thinking of another and more important reason, which became a conviction to me during the progress of this publication: the firm conviction that if we could not obtain a hearing for Nietzsche in England, his wonderful and at the same time very practical thought might be lost for ever to the world—a world that would then quickly be darkened over again by the ever-threatening clouds of obscurantism and barbarism.

But, it might be objected here, has not Nietzsche been translated into almost all tongues; are there not complete Russian, Polish, Spanish, Italian, and French versions of his works, not to speak of the languages of the smaller European nations? Why, then, need we attach such importance to the propagation of his gospel in the Anglo-Saxon world? That, of course, might be offered as a just objection; but a little thought and explanation will prove how very different are conditions in England from those on the Continent, and that precisely in the most important matter of all, in the matter with which Nietzsche's thought is principally occupied—in the matter of religion.

To state this difference briefly and plainly: in England the most truly Christian public is not found amongst the wealthy, the powerful, the aristocracy: it is found, just as in the time of Jesus, amongst the lower, or rather the lower-middle, classes. It is amongst the frequenters of chapels and Nonconformist churches that the true spirit of Christianity is most alive and most vividly felt; it is the man of humble and modest

position who takes the religion of the humble, of the modest, of the peaceful, most seriously, because this religion, which originated amongst his class, even now after two thousand years exactly suits his taste, flatters his secret wishes and ambitions, and satisfies alike his heart and his head, his hopes and his hatreds. Nothing of this—I should like to call it most natural—condition is to be discovered on the Continent, where the historical development has been quite different, and has absolutely confused and even effaced any such obvious distinction between fervent and less fervent Christians. On the Continent, where, as is well known, the French Revolution has had much more influence than in England, the reaction against that Revolution has likewise been very much stronger, and (strange to say) that reaction of the powerful, the rich, and the aristocrats has appropriated the Christian religion to itself in order to fight the revolutionary lower classes, which were strongly, but wrongly, suspected by them of a lack of Christian spirit. Wrongly, I say, because they quite forgot that Christianity, in spite of a benignant mask, is in reality a revolutionary religion, and that not the lack of religion, but the very spirit of religion, had driven the French people to cut off the heads of their king and their aristocrats. Now, when the Revolution was vanquished and the full tide of the Restoration had set in, the monarchs of Prussia, Russia, and Austria had nothing better to do than to found the Holy Alliance, which was joined by most monarchs of Europe (except the Prince-Regent of England) and adopted Christianity and the principles of justice, peace, and charity (the requirements of all the lower strata of society) as their shibboleth:

in other words, it was they, the princes, the powerful, the masters, who adopted the tenets of the religion of the slaves. In opposition to them, and in order to fight their "enemies and oppressors," the liberal and socialistic lower classes of the Continent have more or less loudly proclaimed a sort of atheism, although it is precisely they who most fervently believe, if not in the Christian God, at least in something much more important than this God—to wit, His morality.

Thus, as will easily be seen, on the Continent everything is muddled in matters of religion; what should be below is above, and what should be above is below; whereas in England everything is comparatively natural: the religion of those below is still most alive amongst those below, while the upper classes are much more permeated by the non-Christian spirit—by the spirit of a Voltaire and a Gibbon. In England, therefore, at election times the battle-cry can still be heard: "To Hell with the Dukes and the Lords: vote for Christ!" while on the Continent Christ fights side by side with the aristocrats, who pretend to be on the most intimate terms with Him, the enemy of proud names and worldly riches. French officers of good families nowadays regularly attend mass, not from a deep inner relationship to the Prince of Peace on the Cross, but in order to protest against what they suppose to be the most impudent atheism of the rebellious lower classes. German Junkers pretend to be pillars of the throne and altar, not knowing or not wishing to know that the teaching given out at the altar is, so long as it is delivered without falsehood, subversive of all thrones and all authorities. Wealth and beauty all over the Continent, from a reaction against the

“materialistic” lower classes, feels itself coerced into doing homage to a God who stood for poverty and equality against full pockets and rosy cheeks. With perfect justice, therefore, the Liberals and Socialists on the Continent reproach the upper classes with hypocrisy, while in England the hypocrisy is much more on the side of the Liberal and middle classes. For, why do not these Liberals carry out their Christian principles? Why not establish equality? Why not abolish capitalism? . . . “But it is impossible to do all that!” Ah! . . . is Christianity then impossible?

It is on account of these peculiar religious conditions that Nietzschean thought seems more likely to be understood in England than any other country of Europe, for in England, and only in England, can it still be seen that Nietzsche was right in describing Christianity as the religion of the lower classes, while on the Continent his whole attack seems to be without significance, his whole philosophy based upon assumption. But why not—it might be objected—rely much more upon another country, a country much more Nietzschean than England, a country where the translation of Nietzsche has been subsidised by the Government, and one which besides enjoys the reputation of being the most intellectual of European nations—why not rely upon modern France for the practical success of Nietzsche? The answer to this important objection is very simple, and it is this: that French free-thought—although certainly of a much more independent nature than what is called free-thought elsewhere—that French free-thought, I say, is not too much to be depended upon when it is supposed to turn in earnest against an old religion.

It must never be forgotten that Catholicism, unlike Protestantism, has really entered into the hearts of its believers ; that the head of a Latin may be as free-thinking and daring as possible, but that his heart will shrink nevertheless from drawing the final conclusions of his intellectual persuasion. Catholicism, besides, is an admirable system, thought out by real connoisseurs of human nature ; it is well adapted to the requirements of Southerners, and it has not yet quite led to those intolerable conditions which Nietzsche so constantly attacks in his works. There is still a remnant of patriarchalism left in Latin countries ; the family is not yet totally undermined ; nor woman in open rebellion ; nor the authority of the father quite abolished ; nor are the children imbued with the inflexible conviction that "they must live their own lives at all cost !" And, as patriarchalism in domestic and business life has not yet quite disappeared in these countries, there has up to now been no necessity for the State to take care of millions of slaves, many of whom are beyond any care and hope, many whose propagation even threatens our society with an ignoble death from suffocation by its own refuse.

There is no doubt that Protestantism (whatever good it may have done in other fields) has created these sad conditions around us : with its idea of equality it has split humanity into thousands of anarchical atoms, with its idea of liberty it has thrown responsibility upon weak shoulders, with its idea of charity it has helped these weak and worthless people to survive, nay, to pullulate as freely as possible. Now, as Protestantism is the principal object of Nietzsche's attack, and as affairs are not quite so desperate

amongst the Catholics as amongst the Protestants, a French or Italian free-thinker, though most willingly agreeing with Nietzsche's remarks about Christianity, will only too readily save himself by drawing a line between Catholicism and Christianity. "One should be too good a Catholic to be a good Christian," one of the foremost Nietzscheans of France wrote the other day. Now this in my opinion is a grave error—an error, by the way, not shared by the head of the Catholic Church, who has rightly, from this point of view, put the works of Friedrich Nietzsche on the "Index Expurgatorius." It is a great mistake, I think, to hide behind the Church in order to escape the consequences of true Christianity, for the Church, even the Catholic Church, the least Christian of all Christian Churches, will never give up the faith: it would make itself superfluous as a physician if it ever ceased from distributing its peculiar poison. In spite, therefore, of all my respect for the most intellectual country in Europe, I have the greatest doubt whether it will not and should not be a Protestant country that ought to take the lead in the matter of Nietzschean thought. And since the country of our philosopher, as he rightly prophesied himself (see *Ecce Homo*, p. 126 of this edition), is out of the question on account of its low-church morality, its mental confusion, its indecision in matters of intellect, it became a most urgent necessity to carry conviction to that country which has the most deeply rooted aversion to any convictions—and especially to those pronounced in dictatorial terms—to England.

"This is a difficult country to move, my friend, a difficult country indeed," said the aged Disraeli once

to the young and enthusiastic Socialist Mr. Hyndman; and if anyone besides Disraeli has ever experienced the truth of this saying, it is we, who have brought this edition to a successful conclusion. The stoical "ataraxia" of the Anglo-Saxon world is—to put it mildly—something terrible; but why put it mildly? That in matters of the intellect England is a real brick wall there is not the slightest doubt, as some almost ineffaceable bruises on the heads of my fellow-workers and myself will for ever demonstrate to any unbeliever. In saying this I of course in no way desire to utter any specially adverse criticism—on the contrary, I rather admire this characteristic in an otherwise unprincipled world, in a world which only too often pretends to be tolerant of all ideas, because it has no original ideas of its own. Such open-minded people are the last for whom Nietzsche wrote, and the early active acceptance of Nietzsche by just such people was and is still our greatest danger—a much greater danger than the passive resistance of that fatal brick wall. No, if I am to have any choice in the matter, let me deal with the British brick wall: at least it is no yielding softness, at least there is firmness in that stupidity, and once it is conquered you can with certainty rely and build upon a brick wall, however obstinate the resistance may have been. . . . But I do not wish to dwell any longer upon the resistance we encountered, lest it might be thought that this is only done for the purpose of glorifying our achievements or of exalting our pluck in overcoming obstacles. It is for a much more modest reason that I have to draw the reader's attention to the conditions under which Nietzsche has been introduced into Eng-

land ; it is in order to excuse us, the Nietzscheans, for the manner in which it was accomplished.

This manner of our campaign has very often been blamed in private conversations as well as in public utterances, and, let me say it at once, not without some shadow of justice. Our publications have been very loud, our lectures aggressive, our conversations "conceited." I myself have openly indulged in sneers and sarcasms of a most hearty calibre, as the Preface to this very edition and all the prefaces I wrote to the books of my friends will prove. I have likewise, I confess, encouraged some of my contributors to indulge in a similar language—a language which is both jarring and discomfiting to the ordinary inhabitant of this island, accustomed as he is to have the more polite forms of parliamentary discussion preserved even in his literature. I know it, and I confess it; but, let me say at once, I do not at all regret it. The reason for all this extraordinary behaviour is only too plain: we were an insignificant minority in a state of war with a vast majority, whose arrows, as the Persian ambassador once upon a time said to the Spartans, would well have been able to darken the sun.

We were a hopelessly small garrison in the midst of alarmingly hostile surroundings. Everybody was against us: not openly, to be sure, but, what is worse, silently, sullenly, instinctively. In front of us stood a most powerful phalanx composed of everything that directs the intellect of this country—a phalanx of priests and professors, politicians and petticoats. One might have thought that some solitaries, a few of the independent thinkers, or some of the literary cele-

brities of modern England would have come to our rescue; but, apart from a misunderstanding of our cause and a very private and secret encouragement, not a soul stirred, not a mouth opened, not a finger was moved in our favour. Add to this that we were really a beaten crew, that England had stated before she would have nothing to do with Nietzsche. Remember that we were likewise a terribly decimated crew. Of the older Nietzscheans, of those who stood sponsor for the first edition, only two, Mr. Thomas Common and Mr. William Haussmann, have remained faithful to the cause. Some have left the flag, others have disappeared, one has become a Catholic. John Davidson, a true Nietzschean likewise, though one more intoxicated than inspired by Nietzsche, has even taken his own life. What wonder! The battlefield of thought has its dead, its wounded, and its deserters as well as any other—and only the comfortable citizen who has no idea of what this higher warfare is like will shrug his shoulders at those who come to grief during their noble but dangerous enterprise.

In other words: it was a case of “now or never,” and of at least one of our army I know for a certainty that he would not have survived a “never.” One fights well with broken bridges behind one’s back, one fights rather ruthlessly, one is consequently not very particular about the means. “*Je n’aime pas la guerre à l’eau de rose*,” as Napoleon used to say. “If moral support will not do, we must give immoral support to Greece,” as Bismarck once remarked. And we have certainly helped our cause by all possible means, open or secret, lawful or unlawful, moral or immoral—there is no

doubt about it, I openly confess it, and I even say it with pride. For our doing was not without danger to ourselves, and our want of caution proves at least one thing: that we had a real purpose, a real aim in view—an aim that made us forget the ordinary laws of prudence and circumspection which are otherwise so dear to the literary world.

But though we have no doubt used immoral means, let no one think that we have used them for an immoral end. I know that the popular opinion is still to the contrary; I know that Nietzsche's teaching is still considered as that of a pitiless monster, or as that of a weak man trying to pose as a strong one, or, at its best, as the dream of a romantic and feverish brain. No one, I fear, except myself, has ever pointed out the deep piety and religious feeling (see my Editorial Note to *Thoughts out of Season*, vol. i. p. viii) underlying his cause. And now, after the long years during which my thought has occupied itself with his work, this opinion of mine, that Nietzsche's doctrine is not, as it appears to be, the negation of Christianity, but rather its perfectly logical outcome, has grown within me to an almost invincible conviction.

To state it as shortly as possible: Nietzsche's attack on Judaism and Christianity is caused by his honest intellectuality. But where, it may be asked, does this honesty originate—this intellectual honesty which forbids itself not only the belief in the Supernatural, but also, what is much more important, the belief in the current Christian values of good and evil? By what means have we found out that good and evil are not different moral shades, like black and white, but that all good qualities are in reality refined evil ones, that

evil is the root of all good, and that he who cuts up the root will thereby destroy the fruit? Who has ultimately taught us that all is egotism, that all must be egotism, that one must be "evil," that one must take root, that one must be firm on one's evil legs to be "good," and that the goodness of the non-evil man is merely weakness, if not a cautious request from others to be good to him? Who brought this truth home to us; by what extraordinary power did we moderns obtain an insight into the very nature of things? Did Nietzsche's much vaunted pagans have any idea of this profound psychology? No, they did not—Nietzsche himself is obliged to ask: "What did the Greeks know of the soul?" But who, then, I beg to ask again, made us a gift of this extraordinary insight, which no doubt constitutes the most important discovery the world has ever made?

The answer is a very simple one: it is a gift from the chosen race, it is the Semitic idea itself, it is the Christian conscience, which has allowed us to see the root of our very being, which has lit up the abyss within us—an abyss that no pagan searchlight could ever have illuminated. It is the Judæo-Christian doctrine of sin that has forced every one of us to turn his eyes towards himself, to descend into himself, to scrutinise himself, to get to know himself, and that with a discipline growing more severe from generation to generation. And in fact we have learned to know ourselves, and to know ourselves to such an extent that we cannot believe any longer in these Semitic ideas, that we cannot believe any more in sin and in the wickedness of egotism, that we cannot believe any more in the Jewish distinction between good and evil. And not only have

we got to know ourselves, but we have likewise gained knowledge of others, our eyes have been opened to the human origin of all history and religion, so that the only interesting question about any religion for us now is this: "Cui bono? For whose advantage, for the benefit of what type of man, was this religion invented?" All this has been taught to us by the Judæo-Christian conscience; but the same conscience and the same conscientiousness which made us search and find out our innermost heart, now, after the discovery of the real state of things, force us into discarding this very conscience with all its errors and wrong conclusions. In other words: it is our religion which forbids us any further belief in our religion, it is our morality which gave the death-blow to our morality.

We cannot help ourselves. We must dismiss this old morality; we must try to find another, a higher, a more natural form of morality, but, let me repeat it, *out of* morality, *out of* piety, *out of* honesty. We cannot pretend to be altruists any longer! We cannot be liars! Our parents have been decent, law-abiding, religious people; and we have inherited their sense of honour and truthfulness, we have it in our blood! Away with lies, away with the babble of brotherhood, away with all the poisonous hypocrisy of to-day!

"One sees what has really gained the victory over the Christian God—Christian morality itself, the conception of veracity taken ever more strictly, the confessional subtlety of the Christian conscience, translated and sublimated to the scientific conscience, to intellectual purity at any price," says Nietzsche himself in the *Joyful Wisdom* (Aph. 357). . . . Are these

the words of an irreligious person? Is this the voice of a real immoralist—the speech of a despairing anarchist? This then is the much-dreaded and self-styled Antichrist? Why, if there ever was a true son of the Semitic idea, a noble defender of that ancient faith and its Christian supplement, it is Friedrich Nietzsche. If there ever was a true Christian, it was he. Not only is he not the Antichrist; he is the very opposite of it, he is what Goethe said of Spinoza: Christianissimus. It is his enemies' faith, the faith of those people in whom the religious conscience has not yet blossomed out into the intellectual conscience, that ought to be questioned; it is they who, compared with him, are only wavering sceptics and cowardly idealists, or at best backward Christians, undeveloped Christians, Christians on a lower plane. Ah—what a carnival of shame will seize upon modern Europe when the full significance of Friedrich Nietzsche's thought dawns upon her, when she realises at last what a noble, brave, and truly religious character has been exposed by her to neglect, misunderstanding, and ridicule!

But I am carried away by my subject, and I did not wish to be carried away; I wished to be gentle and "dignified" at this important juncture of the Nietzschean propaganda. Let me therefore fall back upon a less intense and more literary note and say a few calmer words to those for whom Nietzsche, though perhaps they do not yet know it, will soon become an indispensable friend and guide. And I would mention here—amongst the first—the artists, though I have my doubts whether my recommendation of Nietzsche to them is not superfluous. For artists were the first to welcome Nietzsche and have even honoured him

with the flattering name of "our philosopher," while, on the other hand, it may safely be predicted that scholars, schoolmasters, and clergymen will be the last to do homage to him—and that for the simple reason that the latter have an easy and the former a difficult life to live. It will be seen that by "artist" here is meant a man who, in whatever direction, has to break new ground, has to create new values, to destroy old errors, and to pay the bill for such daring—that is to say, to live a lonely life, and such men, by nature healthier, prouder, braver than others (for otherwise they would not have undertaken a great task), are likewise more sensitive and vulnerable (for otherwise they would not see new things), and therefore urgently require the cheerfulness, the joyful wisdom, the honest optimism, that speaks out of the pages of our philosopher.

They must likewise learn from Nietzsche, what every leader ought to learn, but what is most difficult to sensuous artists, and that is a certain simple, nay ascetic, way of living, not for the benefit of their souls like the Christian, not out of poverty of spirit and body like the Philistine, but for the benefit of their object, their art, their aim, their aspirations and desires. It was a hard life that Nietzsche lived himself, it is a hard life that he recommends to his followers. And as ideas to the contrary still prevail in England, and as (to my great regret) the name of Nietzsche now threatens to become popular, all-too-popular, I would only mention as a warning to would-be disciples, and as a proof of my statement, the case of Mr. Ernest Horneffer. Mr. Horneffer, one of the foremost German Nietzscheans, of late openly proclaimed his conversion

to monism (in England best known as the naturalistic philosophy of Ernest Haeckel), giving as his reason for doing so that Nietzsche "expected too much from human beings." That was at least right and honest: "*n'est pas diable qui veut*," as the French say, and *n'est pas Nietzsche non plus qui veut*. Let unholy hands keep aloof from inspired writings, let the laity believe in their old religions and their new philosophies, and let Nietzsche be the philosopher for those only who have to stand alone, but who for this very reason need an example and perhaps a guide more than any other.

It is, then, to the pioneers of science, to those who have left the safe shore of religion and are now explorers upon a treacherous and unknown sea, that Nietzsche should be most urgently recommended, all the more as they have neglected and ignored him too much in the past. It is not good to neglect one's best friends; it is all the worse if one stands in urgent need of them. But to ignore one's enemies is the greatest danger of all—a danger, however, into which men of science, who are far too busy with the smallest and remotest things to see the nearest and greatest, are only too apt to fall. It is a strange thing that those who exclusively rely upon the senses are as a rule not sensitive people, that those who ought to see best see nothing, and are, for instance, quite capable of cheerfully laying out their garden near the edge of a volcano that is by no means extinct. Scientists have no idea that all can again be swamped and killed in a night. They have no suspicion even of a volcano, for it does not spit fire and brimstone any more, but only murmurs "love" and sweet persuasion. It no longer roars and thunders, it no

longer slays thousands in one furious eruption; it has become quite gentle, quite a drawing-room, a lecture-room volcano, and the only sign that it is a volcano is, that it still produces plenty of smoke. Let scientists beware of the smoke-producing metaphysicians, of the fog-loving, fog-favouring obscurantists, who no longer look like theologians, but walk about dressed like gentlemen and know how to hide their spiritual cloven hoof under scientific apparel. Thomas Aquinas and Immanuel Kant are by no means dead yet, but very much alive and easily recognised by connoisseurs in spite of their new and modernised garment: they still preach the "faith" to intellectual audiences, though they no longer call it "faith"; they still recommend "morality" to their innocent flock, though they now call it "intuition" and "instinct"; they still win their honorary degree at a mediæval university like Oxford, though—subtle wisdom!—it is no more what it used and ought to be; the doctorate of divinity. Let scientists beware of their holy enemies.

Let them become aware of their danger, and let them not believe that a negative agnosticism is a safe protection against a positive, powerful, and ancient religion. The assumption of Christian morality presupposes a moral order of the universe, and any further inquiry into the laws of this universe becomes useless, this order being once and for all fixed by religion. In other words; only that truth will be admitted which does not interfere with our prejudices—the Pragmatist would say "which is useful"—yet what has truth to do with moral, religious or pragmatic prejudices? But—and here comes the most important question for science—is there any truth with-

out prejudices ; does not all truth depend upon the brain of the man who perceives it ? Is not man by his very nature a "prejudiced animal," the only important question being the nature of these prejudices, whether they are prejudices making for ascending or descending life, whether they make for a brave or a contemptible type of man ? Of course man is and must be prejudiced, and the great danger of the scientist who believes in absolute, unprejudiced truth is this, that without knowing it he will always fall back upon moral truth, upon the truth we have been accustomed to see for more than two thousand years. For the scientific spirit is merely, as Nietzsche rightly perceived, a higher development of the religious spirit, and the scientist of to-day, in spite of his professed agnosticism, is still a very religious personality : how much religion—unconscious religion, I mean—was there not even in Huxley, Darwin, and Spencer ? Darwin was even buried in Westminster Abbey, the Church, no doubt, trying to reward him for his (and his disciples') truly Christian sermon on the necessity of adaptation to environment and the goodly reward of such "fitness" : the preference given to such fine fellows by the females and their subsequent "survival" in the midst of a happy and numerous family.

And when it comes to the application of Science to Sociology, when scientists—as, for instance, that young and promising Eugenic Party—now wish to take, nay, even have to take upon their shoulders the heavy responsibilities of command and government—responsibilities which were once the privileges of the highest class of human beings—then the guidance of reason and philosophy really becomes absol-

utely indispensable. Now it may safely be prophesied that these truly progressive men of science will meet with the most hopeless of failures if they persist in taking their duties lightly, if they ignore the magnitude of their task, if they continue to apply their biological laws to human society without any enlightenment as to their significance. It has been rightly objected to them that they wish to apply to human beings the laws of the stud-farm ; rightly, I say, because they have quite overlooked the fact that man—if I may say so without being suspected of religiosity—is above all a moral animal. It is values that create and mould men, it is the mind that improves matter, it is matter impressed with high ideas for generations upon generations that in the end brings forward a healthy, happy, brave, and proud type of man.

In other words: the successful “breeding” of men can only be brought about by religious or philosophic faith. Unfortunately, though, our religion, Christianity, had from its very beginning a low type of man in view ; it has, with an exclusiveness peculiar to all strong movements, never even tolerated a higher type amongst its followers. Arising from among the scum and the dregs of the Roman Empire, this religion stood for the needs of the lower classes : it had an urgent desire for love, peace, charity, benevolence, brotherhood, justice, but likewise a spite against all those who did not require such sugary virtues, an immortal hatred of all those imbued with active ideals, against all those who hold that charity, love, benevolence, and justice *might* be the attributes of the strong, but should never be the impudent demand of the

weak. Now—strange to say—the weak, after a battle of two thousand years, have actually won ; they have gained ground especially from the French Revolution onwards, and, pampered by a century of love, charity, and benevolence, the actual Christian ideal, the ideal of the beginning of Christianity, has taken flesh again everywhere around us, and that in painfully strong numbers. We need only look around us : *ecce Christiani!* What a company it is, to be sure, and how well we now begin to understand the Romans, who despised, nay, actually loathed this rabble of later Jews and early Christians !

What now are the duties of the Eugenic Party, of all those who have combined in order to counter-balance the predominance of a low type of man in our midst ? Their first and principal duty is only too plain : they must learn to know the cause of our present-day conditions, they must recognise that not our unbelief but our belief, not our immorality but our morality, not our heathenism but our Christianity, has driven us towards the abyss of a humanity growing more and more worthless. And they must not only blame our present-day Christianity and our present generation for the calamitous state existing around us ; they must likewise accuse our ancestors, not of their sins and vices, to be sure, but of their very virtues, which are now terribly visited upon us, their children, and make us too gnash our teeth and mutter the words of the prophet Jeremiah : “ The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children’s teeth are set on edge ” (Jeremiah, xxxi. 29). “ Shall we too eat that sour grape, shall we too swallow the old faith ? ” such is the first question which all be-

lievers in Race-regeneration will have to put to themselves—the question to be answered first, before they should even think of action. If they do eat it, if they do continue to walk humbly and comfortably in the ways of their fathers, they will be cursed by their very children—for their endeavours will fail; if they do not, if they succeed in forcing their conscience out of the old religious groove, they will be praised by all succeeding generations—a praise and a success, however, only to be won by a sure knowledge and an open confession of their religious position. A believer in race is no longer a Christian in the old sense of the word. On the contrary, he that interferes with the humble, the miserable, the bungled, the botched, the feeble-minded and their offspring is a most deadly sinner against the spirit of a religion that was invented, and stood, and still stands for the survival of all the lower types of humanity.

Our friends ought further to consider that it is not enough to repudiate the Christian ideal and its type of man, that it is not enough to be negative, that leaders and creators must have positive aims and desires, that navigators upon the sea must know to which port they are steering. Eugenists, therefore, above all must learn to know the type of man, or the types of man, they do want. Now a scientific Eugenist has given up his Christian values, but he has not acquired any new values of his own. How, then, is he going to judge who is fit or unfit? He is quite unable to do so: he will either have to fall back upon Christianity and have the old type of man over again or—which would be much worse than falling back upon an old and by no means stupid religion—he will “sterilise in the

dark.”* What a terrible mischief they might be able to do—and ought the knife to be entrusted to people who wish to operate upon humanity in the dark, who judge fit or unfit from their own narrow point of view? Do they really imagine that all those who have survived in fairly good circumstances to-day are the “fittest,” that there is not above them as well as below them a class that is “unfit,” that is badly adapted to the “requirements of progress,” a class that comes to grief under the wheels of our civilisation as easily as, nay, more easily than, the really unfit, the wastrels? A silent class that nobody thinks of or takes care of, a class that even refuses to be taken care of, but a deeply suffering class nevertheless, which has been protected up to now, together with its direct opposites, the wastrels, by the mildness of Christianity? How are they going to distinguish those who are ill-adapted to modern life through their strength, their courage, their intellectual honesty, their higher ambition, their superior sensibility from those who are at the opposite end of the social ladder, if they have no reason to guide them, except a grocer’s reason, if fitness only means “civic worth”—that is to say, fitness for the tame requirements of a commercial and mechanical civilisation? May not the same thing happen to them that has happened to the Jews, might they not crucify a God between two criminals, nay, may not even criminals, who

* The Mental Deficiency Bill, dropped for the time being, proposed sterilisation of the unfit under certain circumstances. Sterilisation of abnormal persons is actually carried out to-day in Switzerland and some American States. See on the subject, *Juristisch-psychiatrische Grenzfragen*, viii. Bd. Heft 1-3. Halle a. S. (Carl Marhold). 1911.

occasionally possess great strength of character, be of more real value than the "gods" and the "fit" of such middle-class Reformers? And to people who have lost the moral values of their religion and have acquired no new ones, to people who have thus fallen even below Christianity, we are to entrust power over humanity and its future, to them and to their policemen! Is it not under these circumstances high time to ask the question: *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* In plain English: Who sterilises the sterilisers?

There is no other way for our social scientists: they must either return to the old creed or learn a new one, they must either fall back upon the old morality or learn to revalue their values. Science by itself is no guide whatever in questions of the highest importance in state and government: science is merely clever, intelligent, like a woman; she can see and observe well, like a woman, but she is likewise near-sighted, she cannot generalise, she lacks imagination, she needs a purpose and a safe direction. Science, therefore, above all requires guidance and reinforcement from philosophy, all the more so if it is an important science, the science of the future, as the Science of Race and Eugenics promises to become one day. Now men who cultivate this most important branch of knowledge, men who have to decide our future, must be equipped with the highest current wisdom. If they fail to acquire such wisdom, or if they are incapable of distinguishing real from spurious wisdom, they should become more modest, they should not aspire to a position that is above their insight, they should leave the direction of affairs to the religious man who, after all, has some knowledge of the human heart.

They should be all the more cautious and modest, as their failure will compromise not only themselves but us as well, for, though they themselves do not know it, one day it will be known that the greatest and truest advocate of Eugenics was not Sir Francis Galton, but Friedrich Nietzsche. We may then experience the pleasure of being hanged in their company, and it will be clamorously asserted by the Socialists and other religious sectarians that now, once and for all, it has been proved that the ideas of Nietzsche are wholly impracticable. But, honourable as it may be to be hanged in such learned and scientific company, we beg to protest beforehand against such possible miscarriage of justice. In one of Edgar Allan Poe's stories a monkey sees his master shaving; he escapes one day with the razor in his hand, breaks into a house, forces an old lady into a chair, soaps her, flourishes the razor about her face, and then promptly cuts her throat—but is this master responsible for his caricature, especially as these caricatures have never seen us shaving? Are we to be held responsible for the foolhardiness of scientific Bœotians who know nothing of Nietzsche, nothing of our work in England, a work that was done specially for them and their instruction, a work of twenty years' assiduous labour, done under the most adverse of circumstances by a little band of outsiders?

But as I am again losing my "dignity," let me come to an end and say a few words in conclusion, now that our ways may possibly lie apart, to those outsiders, those friends of mine who have done so much to bring this translation to a successful termination. Their support of the cause during the long years of

THE NIETZSCHE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

preparation and publication has been a most able, a most generous, a most unswerving one. Without any desire or hope of praise, they have steadily worked on and accomplished a well-nigh impossible task. For many of them this labour has been one of love: this very index is a contribution from an admirer of Nietzsche, who—just as the devout in the Middle Ages all wished to share in building their Gothic cathedrals—desired to add his stone (and a very good coping-stone too) to the edifice we were rearing. Much trouble, much loving care has been spent on this edition, and that by people who are still considered strangers to all loving cares, nay, to all human emotions. Let this truth be known, that it may counteract some of the falsehoods current about us, and let my friends console themselves for painful misunderstandings by the prediction of a member of a prophetic race, that one day it will be an honour to have been a first translator of Nietzsche, that one day it will be recognised that they, by bravely facing injustice and unpopularity, have in reality deserved well of their country.

OSCAR LEVY.

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— Nietzsche and the reader whom he would allow to pass muster as knowing that book, xiii. 12.

— the deepest book mankind possesses, xvi. 111; alluded to in the preface to *The Antichrist*, 125; *Explanatory Notes to*, 259–81.

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VOCABULARY OF FOREIGN WORDS AND PHRASES

TRANSLATED BY P. V. COHN, B.A.

THE Editor has from time to time received letters suggesting that translations should be given of the Latin, French, and other foreign quotations which occur rather frequently in the works of Nietzsche. In most cases these words and phrases have been preserved in the text, in order to keep the flavour of the original: nor was it considered desirable to disfigure the pages with an excess of footnotes. The following vocabulary will, it is hoped, meet the needs of readers. The volumes are given in alphabetical order of number as in the advertisement index, but the quotations are arranged in order of pages, the numbers heading the quotations being those of the pages. Wherever a word or phrase seemed to require comment as well as translation, notes have been added. Cross references are given to the pages of the volumes.

I. THE BIRTH OF TRAGEDY.

- p. 5. *in artibus*: in art.
profanum vulgus: the uninitiated mob. A phrase from Horace.
- p. 9. *terminus technicus*: artistic end.
- p. 10. *Welt*, etc.: World as Will and Idea.
- p. 25. *principium individuationis*: principle of individualisation.
- p. 35. *Moirā*: Fate.
- p. 51. *perpetuum vestigium*: endless trace.
Des Knaben Wunderhorn: The Boy's Enchanted Horn. A famous collection of folk-songs by Arnim and Brentano, 1806.
- p. 57. *Oceanides*: Daughters of Oceanus.
- p. 96. *epos*: epic.
- p. 100. *deus ex machina*: God in the car. The god who in Euripides often cuts the knot of a difficult situation was lowered on to the stage in a contrivance known as *machina*.
νοῦς (*nous*): mind.
- p. 102. *sophist*: wisdom-monger. The Sophists in fifth-century Greece were men who travelled about the country teaching rhetoric and science for considerable fees. Their methods (especially their attempt to make "the worse appear the better

cause") were attacked by Socrates and his school.

p. 103. *daimonion*: lit., supernatural thing. A daimon was a lower order of divinity than a theos. Applied by Socrates to his "warning voice" (see context).
per defectum: by deficiency.

p. 109. *ancilla*: handmaid.

p. 110. *deus ex machina*; see above, on p. 100.

p. 121. *principium individuationis*; see above, on p. 25.

p. 123. *a priori*: lit. "from the former": applied in logic to ideas which are innate and do not proceed from outside experience.

p. 125. *abstracta*: abstracts.

universalia post rem, ante rem, in re: generalities after the particular, before the particular, in the particular.

p. 131. *dithyramb*: hymn in honour of the wine-god Dionysus.

p. 132. *dénouement*: unravelling of a plot.

p. 139. *æternæ veritates*: eternal verities.

p. 142. *stilo rappresentativo*: representative style.

p. 155. *epigones*: after-born, successors, posterity.

p. 158. *imperium*: rule, empire.

p. 171. *quid pro quo*: tit for tat.

p. 177. *sub specie æterni*: in eternal form (see below).

- p. 178. *sub specie sæculi*: in temporary form (lit. "under the form of the period").
- p. 187. *Delian*: of Delos (the island sacred to Apollo).
- p. 191. *contra*: against, opposed to.

II. EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS.

- p. 12. *bellum*: war.
omnium contra omnes: of all against all.
- p. 23. *λάθε βιώσας* (*lathē biosas*): live without drawing attention to yourself (lit. escape notice having lived).
- p. 25. *inesse*, etc.: nay more, they (the Germans) think that there is in women some holy and prophetic quality, and they neither spurn their advice nor disregard their oracular utterances.
- p. 37. *missa solemnis*: solemn mass.
- p. 47. *par nobile fratrum*: famous pair of brothers.
From Vergil.
- p. 55. *odium figulinum*: hatred of potters (for potters).
- p. 58. *agens*: agent.
- p. 60. *hors de concours*: outside the competition.
- p. 65. *credo quia absurdum est*: I believe it because it is absurd (a phrase from Tertullian).

p. 67. *nil admirari*: admiring nothing. Horace's equivalent for indifferentism.

illam, etc.: That very health which they prate about, they acquire not by muscle-building but by fasting.

p. 68. *in summa*: altogether.

p. 82. *Epigones*; see on I., p. 155.

p. 83. *fatum libellorum*: the destiny of books. An allusion to the Latin saying, "*habent sua fata libelli*," "books have their special destinies."

p. 89. *Orpheans*: followers of Orpheus.

p. 100. *mira*, etc.: wonderful is the appropriateness of words in certain matters, and the usage of our older speech designates some things by the most effective terms.

p. 101. *cosmodicy*: justification of the "World."

p. 109. *essentia*: being.
Logos: Word.

p. 111. *plaudite, amici!*: applaud, my friends! Roman plays were wont to end with a request that the audience should applaud.

p. 126. *existentia*: existence.

p. 127. *conditio sine qua non*: indispensable condition.

p. 128. *veritas eterna*: eternal truth.

p. 129. *ambulo, ergo sum*: I walk, therefore I am.

- p. 130. *atomon*: atom, indivisible thing.
veritas eterna; see above, on p. 128.
- p. 132. *argumenta ad hominem*: arguments addressed to the individual.
ex concessis: based on conceded points.
- p. 144. *causa sui*: uncaused cause.
- p. 145. *chalaza*: hail.
- p. 149. *præmissa*: premisses.
- p. 152. *deus ex machina*; see on I., p. 100.
- p. 156. *odi profanum vulgus et arceo*: I hate the uninitiated mob and keep it at a distance.
 From Horace.
- p. 158. *causa efficiens*: efficient (*i.e.* immediate) cause.
causa finalis: final cause.
- p. 165. *νείκος* (*neikos*) strife.
ἀπόρροιαί (*aporrhoiar*): outflows.
ὄντα (*onta*): things that are.
- p. 169. *optime*: in the best way.
- p. 176. *bellum*, etc.; see above, on p. 12.
- p. 180. *qualitas occulta*: hidden quality.
- p. 182. *templum*: temple.
- p. 188. *mythos*: myth.

III. THE FUTURE OF OUR EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS.

- p. 55. *laisser-aller*: letting things slide.
- p. 72. *beneficio naturæ*: by a benefit of nature.
- p. 73. *ubertas ingenii*: fertility of genius.
- p. 104. *natura non facit saltus*: nature does not take jumps (*i.e.* she proceeds gradually).
- p. 120. *hoc genus omne*: all that class.
- p. 137. *in tyrannos*: against tyrants.
- p. 141. *danse macabre*: Dance of Death. The name applied to allegorical groups, representing the power of death over mortals, that were a favourite subject of mediæval art from the fourteenth century onwards.
- homo sapiens*: the wise man.
- p. 147. *ex professo*: avowedly.
- p. 153. *viva voce*: orally.
- p. 162. *punctum saliens*: salient point.

IV. THOUGHTS OUT OF SEASON, VOL. I

- p. 12. *tutti unisono*: all one sound.
- p. 17. *nil admirari*; see on II., p. 67.
- p. 19. *satisfait*: satisfied person.

- p. 33. *Wanderjahre*: wander years, period of travel.
- p. 36. *tamquam re bene gesta*: as if the victory had been won.
- p. 50. *bellum*, etc.; see on II., p. 12.
- p. 58. *système de la nature*: system of nature.
- p. 61. *otium sine dignitate*: leisure without dignity.
- p. 69. *totum ponere*: to present as a whole.
- p. 86. *tutti unisono*; see above, on p. 12.
- p. 92. *illam ipsam*, etc.; see on II., p. 67.
- p. 103. *raison d'être*: reason for existing.
- p. 165. *opus metaphysicum*: metaphysical work.

V. THOUGHTS OUT OF SEASON, VOL. II.

- p. 3. *ceterum censeo*: however, I am of the opinion.
Referring to the words with which Cato the Censor (238–149 B.C.) ended his speeches in his later years, *ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*: however, I am of the opinion that Carthage must be destroyed.
- p. 20. *deus ex machina*; see on I., p. 100.
- p. 29. *a posteriori*: lit. “from the later”: in logic, applied to arguments based on experience.
- p. 31. *fiat veritas, pereat vita*: let truth be done, though life be destroyed.

THOUGHTS OUT OF SEASON

- p. 44. *corpora*: bodies.
vilia: vile.
- p. 56. *historiens de M. Thiers*: M. Thiers' band of historians.
- p. 59. *theologus*, etc.: vulgar liberal theologian.
- p. 60. *memento mori*: reminder of death.
- p. 73. *ira et studium*: anger and prejudice.
sine ira et studio: without anger or prejudice.
advocatus diaboli: devil's advocate. See note on *advocatus dei*, XII., p. 48.
natura naturans: creative nature.
- p. 78. *ex causis efficientibus*: from efficient causes.
ex causa finali: from a final cause.
- p. 83. *a posteriori*; see above, on p. 29.
animæ magnæ prodigus: lavish of his noble soul. From Horace's Odes, in reference to Aemilius Paullus, who at the battle of Cannæ refused an offer of escape from Hannibal.
- p. 93. *æterna veritas*; see on II., p. 128.
- p. 94. *cogito ergo sum*: I think, therefore I am.
vivo ergo cogito: I live, therefore I think.
esse: being.
vivere: living.

VI. HUMAN, ALL-TOO-HUMAN, VOL. I.

- p. 3. *acedia* : carelessness.
- p. 6. *mater sæva cupidinum* : savage mother of the desires. Applied to Venus by Horace (Odes, IV. 1, 5).
- p. 12. *otium* : leisure.
O si tacuisses, philosophus mansisses : O, if only you had held your tongue—you would have remained a philosopher.
- p. 14. *æterna veritas* ; see on V., 93.
- p. 24. *causa* : cause.
- p. 36. *monumentum ære perennius* : a monument more enduring than brass (Horace).
- p. 55. *Sentences*, etc. : moral maxims and sentences.
ce que, etc. : what the world calls virtue is generally nothing but a phantom created by our passions and endowed with an honourable name, in order that we may do what we wish with impunity.
- p. 60. *esse* ; see on V., p. 94.
operari : operating.
- p. 70. *pudendum* : thing to be ashamed of.
sachez aussi, etc. : know also that nothing is more common than wrongdoing for the pleasure of doing wrong.
- p. 75. *individuum* : individual, undivided thing.
dividuum : divided thing.

- p. 91. *moralité larmoyante*: tearful morality.
- p. 92. *unusquisque*, etc.: every man has so much right as he has power to enforce it.
quantum potentia valere creditur: as he is believed to have power to enforce it.
- p. 100. ἄδυτον (*aduton*): sanctuary.
- p. 114. *sensu allegorico*: in an allegorical sense.
- p. 116. *consensus sapientium*: the common opinion of philosophers.
consensus gentium: the common opinion of the nations.
- p. 129. *daimonion*; see on I., p. 103.
- p. 135. *si on croit*, etc.: if we think that we love our mistress for her sake, we are much mistaken.
- p. 140. *spernere se sperni*: to despise one's being despised.
- p. 155. *epigoni*: after-born (=weak imitators).
- p. 165. *miraculum*: miracle.
- p. 174. *inmajorem artis gloriam*: to the greater glory of art.
- p. 175. *corriger la fortune*: to improve upon one's fortune by swindling.
- p. 181. *feuilleton*: newspaper serial story or descriptive article.
- p. 195. *cis, des*: c sharp and d flat.
- p. 199. *Divina Commedia*: Divine Comedy. The title of Dante's great epic.

- p. 212. *pudendum*; see above, on p. 70.
- p. 215. *esprit fort*: powerful mind.
- p. 229. *nous ne*, etc.: we are not descended from monkeys, but we are going in that direction.
- p. 230. *ah, mon*, etc.: ah, my dear Sulzer, you are not sufficiently acquainted with that accursed race to which we belong.
- p. 251. *pensum*: school exercise.
- p. 261. *ensor vitæ*: censor of life.
- p. 316. *ceterum censeo*, see on V., p. 3.
- p. 316. *quand la populace*, etc.: when the masses begin to discuss, all is lost.
- p. 321. *patria*: one's native land.
- p. 327. *in summa*: in sum.
- p. 328. *le désordre organisé*: organised disorder.
- p. 334. *écrasez l'infame*: crush the scoundrel!
- p. 345. *polis*: city, city-state.
- p. 375. *punctum saliens*; see on III., p. 162.
umana commedia: human comedy. A sort of coalescence of Dante's "Divina Commedia" and Balzac's "Comédie Humaine."
- p. 379. *casus belli*: cause of war.
- p. 384. *a posteriori*; see on V., p. 29.

p. 389. *bellum*, etc.; see on II., p. 12.

p. 398. *credo*, etc.; see on II., p. 65.

VII. HUMAN, ALL-TOO-HUMAN, VOL. II.

p. 1. *ego ipsissimus*: this peculiar Latin superlative may be rendered "I at my selfest."
"Ipsissimum" is neuter, and means lit.
"the selfest thing."

p. 14. *croyez-moi*, etc.: believe me, my friend, error also has its merits.

p. 20. *historia in nuce*: history in a nutshell.

p. 21. *plaudite, amici*; see on II., p. 111.

p. 24. *pereat*, etc.: let the world be destroyed, so long as I am saved.

p. 35. *beatus ille qui procul negotiis*: happy he who far from business (and freed from money-lending, ploughs his ancestral fields with his own oxen). Horace, *Epodes*.

p. 52. *oremus nos, Deus laboret*: let us pray and let God work. Nietzsche's humorous adaptation of the monastic *laborare et orare* "to work and to pray."

p. 60. *double entendre*: word or phrase with double meaning.

p. 64. *pulchrum*, etc.: beauty is within reach only of the few.

- p. 83. *sibi scribere*: to write for oneself.
- p. 94. *vox populi*: the voice of the people.
- p. 116. *numen*: godhead.
- p. 129. *meum, tuum*: mine and thine.
- p. 143. *pia fraus*: pious fraud.
- p. 157. *émeute*: riot.
- p. 161. *gaudeamus igitur*: therefore let us rejoice.
The opening of a famous German students' song.
- p. 184. *a minori ad maius, a parte ad totum*: from the less to the greater, from the part to the whole.
- p. 193. *vanitas vanitatum homo*: vanity of vanities is man.
- p. 202. *jus talionis*: the law of compensation on the principle of an eye for an eye.
- p. 203. *ignorantia legis*: ignorance of law.
- p. 211. *æquum*: equity.
- p. 219. *in majorem gloriam*: to the greater glory.
- p. 222. *le bon Dieu*: the good God.
- p. 229. *Moirà*: Destiny.
- p. 270. *arrière-pensée*: after thought.
- p. 295. *Natura*, etc.: Nature does not take jumps.
- p. 297. *lèse majesté*: outrage on majesty.
- p. 302. *Dialogues des Morts*: Dialogues of the Dead.

- p. 315. *polis* : see on VI., p. 345.
- p. 325. *nos ennemis naturels* : our natural enemies.
- p. 328. *sacrifizio dell' intelletto* : sacrifice of the intellect. A Jesuit phrase.
- p. 343. *quousque tandem* ; see on VIII., p. 51.
- p. 352. *nil admirari* ; see on II., p. 67.

VIII. ESSAYS ON WAGNER, ETC.

- p. 3. *limpidezza* : clearness.
- p. 5. *L'amour*, etc. : Love is of all sentiments the most egotistic, and consequently, when it is wounded, the least generous.
- p. 9. *la philosophie*, etc. : philosophy is not enough for the mass of mankind ; they need holiness.
- p. 11. *bene*, etc. : I made a good voyage when I have been shipwrecked.
- p. 13. *Wagner est un névrose* : Wagner is a neurotic.
- p. 14. *par excellence* : the very type of, down to the ground.
- p. 15. *Pulchrum est paucorum hominum* ; see on VII., p. 64.
- p. 17. *Sursum* : upwards !
Bumbum : a nonsense German exclamation to mock high-sounding language.

- p. 18. *sit venia verbo*: may the word be excused.
- p. 23. *histrion*: actor.
- p. 24. *ancilla dramaturgica*: handmaid to drama.
- p. 25. *alla genovese*: in the Genoese style.
recitativo secco: dry recitative.
leitmotif: leading motive (applied particularly to the recurring phrase of a Wagner opera).
- p. 29. *Wagnerus*, etc.: these are the words of Wagner, the leading authority on chastity.
en passant: in passing.
- p. 32. *la gaya scienza*: the joyful wisdom.
- p. 33. *fable convenue*: a legend agreed upon.
- p. 38. *in rebus musicis et musicantibus*: in matters of music and musicians.
- p. 40. *cave canem*: beware of the dog.
- p. 50. *feminini generis*: of the feminine gender.
le moi est toujours haïssable: the ego is always hateful.
fæda superstitio: foul superstition.
- p. 51. *Quousque tandem, Crispi*: How long, pray, Crispi? Nietzsche here addresses to the well-known Italian statesman Crispi the words of Cicero to Catiline: *Quousque tandem, Catilina, abutere patientia nostra?* "How long, pray, Catilina, will you abuse our patience?"
- p. 59. *petit fait vrai*: little true fact.

- p. 60. *pur sang*: pure-blooded.
- p. 62. *haut-relief*: high relief.
- p. 67. *Flaubert est*, etc.: Flaubert is always de-
testable, the man is nothing, the work
is everything.
- p. 69. *delicatesses*: delicatenesses.
l'âme moderne: the modern soul.
- p. 79. *amor fati*: love of destiny.
- p. 81. *das*, etc.: the veiled portrait at Sais.
- p. 82. *tout*, etc.: to understand everything is to
despise everything. An allusion to the
saying of Mme de Staël: "To under-
stand everything is to pardon every-
thing."
- p. 90. *C'est la*, etc.: It is madness to seek to think
and feel beyond our strength.
- p. 91. *καλὸς Σωκράτης* (*kalos Sokrates*): beautiful
Socrates.
- p. 92. *allegro con brio*: lively with gusto.
- p. 95. *genres*: kinds, schools (especially of art).
- p. 96. *allegro con fuoco*: lively with fire.
- p. 110. *bene*, etc.; see above, òn p. 11.
- p. 115. *dubito*: I doubt it.
- p. 136. *il faut*: one must tell the truth and sacrifice
oneself.
- p. 140. *ut imprimis*, etc.: that above all he may
prove of what use they may be in more
serious studies.

- p. 141. *non tam*, etc.: I do not fix so high a value upon my little emendations as to hope or demand any special favour from this source.
- p. 143. τεχναί (*technai*) *artes*: arts.
- p. 154. *infimarum*, etc.: for the lowest virtues of the Greeks scholars have praise, for the mediocre admiration, for the highest no sense whatever.
- p. 155. ἀριστεύειν (*aristeuein*). No single equivalent can be given for this peculiarly Greek verb. It means, to show the virtues and perform the actions of the best type of man, of the aristocrat in the highest sense. It seems almost desecration to render this beautiful word by a slang phrase: but really "play the game" is our nearest English expression.
- πόλις (*polis*): city, city-state.
- p. 157. Σωφροσύνη (*sophrosyne*): temperance, self-restraint.
- p. 158. *gravitas*: dignity, seriousness. The quality which the Romans most prided themselves on possessing.
- nugari*: to trifle, to play the fool.
- p. 160. αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν (*aien aristeuein*); see above, on p. 155; "aien" = always.
- ἀγών (*agon*): contest used especially of the games, poetical competitions, etc., at Greek festivals.

- p. 162. *ratio*: this Latin word has many senses, the fundamental ones being "reason" or "reckoning": here it seems to mean "the rationalising spirit."
- p. 164. *pudendum*; see on VI., p. 70.
- p. 166. *vide tragoediam*; see tragedy.
- p. 181. *police des mœurs*: moral censorship.

IX. THE DAWN OF DAY.

- p. 5. *de fonder*, etc.: to found upon earth the kingdom of wisdom, justice and virtue.
- p. 6. *credo quia absurdum est*; see on II., p. 65.
- p. 8. *lento*: slowly (musical term).
- p. 18. *post hoc*: after this.
- p. 34. *pia fraus*: pious fraud.
- p. 41. *arrière-pensées*; see on VII., p. 270.
- p. 47. *vita activa*: active life.
- p. 48. *vita contemplativa*: contemplative life.
- p. 49. *pudenda origo*; shameful origin.
- p. 50. *abstracta*: abstracts.
- p. 54. *nihil humani*, etc.: I consider nothing human strange to me. From Terence.
- p. 59. *spernere se sperni*; see on VI., p. 140.
spernere se ipsum: to despise one's self.

- p. 61. *arrière-pensées*; see on VII., p. 270.
- p. 65. *odium generis humani*: hatred of the human race. From Tacitus's famous account of the alleged implication of the Christians in the great fire of Rome under Nero. Nietzsche takes the genitive *generis humani* as objective: it may also be subjective—"hatred felt for them by the human race."
- p. 72. *ære perennius*; see on VI., p. 36.
- p. 92. *deus absconditus*: hidden god.
- p. 93. *in effigie*: in effigy.
- p. 99. *O pudenda origo*; see above, on p. 49.
- p. 136. *Moirà*; see on VII., p. 229.
- p. 137. *vivre pour autrui*: to live for others.
- p. 138. *On n'est*, etc.: We are good only by virtue of pity: therefore there must needs be some element of pity in all our feelings.
- p. 154. *qualitas occulta*: hidden quality.
- p. 164. *refugium*: refuge.
- p. 173. *error veritate simplicior*: error more straightforward than truth.
- p. 175. *homo pamphagus*: omnivorous man.
- p. 179. *credat Judæus Apella*: let the Jew Apella believe it. By this phrase in his Satires Horace means "let a credulous person believe this: I don't." It seems strange, perhaps, that the Jew should ever have

been taken as a type of credulity : but this was probably due to his being credited by the Romans with numerous inexplicable superstitions.

p. 193. *esprit* : wit.

p. 211. *spernere se sperni* ; see on VI., p. 140.

p. 215. *bestia triumphans* : triumphant beast. Perhaps an allusion to Giordano Bruno's book *Spaccio della bestia trionfante*.

p. 220. *nil admirari* ; see on II., p. 67.

p. 221. *admirari est philosophari* : to wonder (or admire) is to be a philosopher.

p. 223. *in summa* : in sum.

p. 258. *chi non ha non è* : he who has not is not.

p. 263. *profanum vulgus* ; see on II., p. 156.
in maiorem dei gloriam : to the greater glory of God.

p. 267. *facta* : facts.
ficta : invented.

p. 303. *remedium amoris* : remedy for love. "Remedia Amoris" is the title of a well-known poem of Ovid.

p. 304. *credo quia absurdum est* : I believe it because it is absurd.
credo quia absurdus sum : I believe it because I am absurd.

p. 311. *embellir la nature* : to improve upon nature.

p. 318. *vita practica* : practical life.

- p. 328. *hic Rhodus hic salta*: here is Rhodes, here leap.
- p. 335. *ubi pater sum, ibi patria*: where I am a father (to an idea), there is my fatherland. The Latin proverb quoted in the note means "where I am happy, there is my fatherland."
- p. 353. *bon ton*: good form.
- p. 357. *gloria mundi*: glory of the world.

X. THE JOYFUL WISDOM

- p. 3. *incipit tragædia*: here begins the tragedy.
incipit parædia: here begins the parody.
- p. 21. *et hoc genus omne*: and all that breed.
primum scribere, deinde philosophari: first to write, then to philosophise.
- p. 46. *andante*: slow (musical term).
- p. 49. *raison d'être*: reason for existing.
- p. 61. *l'ordre du jour pour le roi*: the order of the day for the king.
- p. 73. *historia abscondita*: hidden history.
- p. 75. *plaudite*, etc.: applaud, my friends, the comedy is over.
qualis artifex pereo: what an artist is being lost to the world in me!
qualis spectator pereo: what a spectator is being lost to the world in me!

- p. 77. *hoc est ridiculum, hoc est absurdum*: this is
ridiculous, this is absurd.
physis: nature, constitution.
- p. 101. *pudendum*; see on VI., p. 70.
- p. 104. *in eroticis*: in matters of love.
- p. 115. *esprit*: wit.
est magna res tacere: it is an important matter
to hold one's tongue.
- p. 116. *imperium Romanum*: Roman Empire.
- p. 118. *ferocia animi*: ferocity (or boldness) of soul.
melos: melody, song, lyric poem.
- p. 125. *Vita nuova*: The New Life. Dante's auto-
biography.
- p. 128. *régime*: rule, system.
- p. 129. *Ah! mon ami*, etc.: Ah! my friend, I am
leaving this world, where the heart must
either break or steel itself.
- p. 134. *principium individuationis*; see on I., p. 25.
- p. 139. *in usum Delphinorum*: for the use of the Dau-
phins. Expurgated editions of the clas-
sics were made for the use of the French
royal princes.
- p. 140. *bourgeois*: middle-class.
noblesse: nobility.
esprit; see above, on p. 115.
élégance: elegance.
- p. 165. *amour-plaisir*: love based on pleasure.
amour-vanité: love based on vanity.
- p. 169. *requiem eternam Deo*: eternal rest in the Lord.

- p. 174. *crimen læsæ majestatis divinæ*: crime of outraging the Divine majesty.
- p. 185. *homo pœta*: man as poet.
- p. 186. *dénouement*: unravelling of the plot.
mentiri: to lie.
- p. 191. *les souverains rangent aux parvenus*: monarchs rank with parvenus.
- p. 196. *hic niger est*: this man is black.
- p. 207. *sit venia verbo*; see on VIII., p. 18.
- p. 213. *sum*, etc.: I am, therefore I reflect: I reflect, therefore I am.
amor fati: love of (one's) destiny.
- p. 217. *vita contemplativa*; see on IX., p. 48.
vita religiosa: religious life.
- p. 235. *vis contemplativa*: contemplative power.
vis creativa: creative power.
- p. 238. *placitum*: thing determined.
- p. 250. *in media vita*: in the midst of life.
- p. 254. *esprit*; see above on p. 115.
otium: leisure.
- p. 255. *bellum*; see on II., p. 12.
- p. 256. *quando*, etc.: since even in the case of the wise, the desire for glory is the last thing whereof they divest themselves.
- p. 257. *non ridere*, etc.: not to laugh, not to mourn, nor to hate, but to understand.
intelligere: to understand.
- p. 271. *incipit tragœdia*; see on p. 3.

- p. 273. *carcasce*, etc.: You tremble, my carcase? you
would tremble far more if you knew
whither I am taking you.
- p. 281. *consensus*: agreement.
- p. 286. *naturalisme*: naturalism.
la vérité vraie: true truth.
- p. 289. *déraisonnable*: addle-pated.
- p. 290. *homines religiosi*: religious men.
- p. 294. *disciplina voluntatis*: disciplining of the will.
- p. 295. *vis inertie*: deadweight.
- p. 303. *Græculus histrio*: paltry Greek actor.
- p. 306. *causaliter*: causally.
- p. 310. *elegantia psychologica*: psychological elegance.
sub specie speciei: under the form of a form.
- p. 327. *in litteris et artibus*: in literature and art.
- p. 334. *terminus*: term.
- p. 335. *proprium*: peculiar property.
ipsissimum: very own (lit. selfest).
- p. 336. *praxis*: practice.
amor intellectualis dei: intellectual love of
God.
deus: god.
in summa: in sum.
- p. 349. *diu noctuque incubando*: by brooding night
and day over it.
- p. 365. *rimus remedium*: rhyme as a remedy.

XII. BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL.

- p. 7. *de omnibus dubitandum*: everything must be doubted.
- p. 8. *niaiserie*: stupidity.
- p. 9. *a priori*; see on I., p. 123.
- p. 10. *Tartuffery*: hypocrisy. From *Tartuffe*, the hypocritical hero of Molière's celebrated comedy.
- p. 12. *mise en scène*: stage setting.
- p. 13. *adventavit*, etc.: the ass, beautiful and most strong, has come.
Stoa: the Porch. A collective term for the Stoic school of philosophers.
- p. 14. *causa prima*: first cause.
- p. 16. *a priori*; see on I., p. 123.
- p. 17. *niaiserie allemande*: German stupidity.
- p. 18. *quia*, etc.: because there is in it a soporific virtue (*virtus dormitiva*), the property of which is to numb the senses (*sensus assoupire*). *Assoupire* is a comically Latinised French word, invented by the sham doctor in Molière's *Médecin malgré lui*.
- p. 19. *atomon*: atom, indivisible thing.
- p. 22. *reductio ad absurdum*: reduction to absurdity. Applied to Euclid's method of prov-

inga proposition by showing the absurdity of all assumptions but the true one.

causa sui : uncaused cause.

- p. 23. *contradictio in adjecto* : contradiction in terms.
- p. 28. *l'effet c'est moi* : the effect is myself.
- p. 31. *la religion de la souffrance humaine* : the religion of human suffering.
- p. 32. *ni dieu ni maître* : neither god nor master.
- p. 34. *sacrificio dell' intelletto* ; see on VII., p. 25.
- p. 35. *O sancta simplicitas* : O holy simplicity !
- p. 41. *tempo* : time (primarily applied to music).
presto : quick (musical term).
nuances : shades.
in moribus et artibus : in morals and art.
- p. 42. *allegriissimo* : very lively (musical term).
petit fait : trifling fact.
- p. 43. *minotaure* : a mythical Greek monster, half man, half bull.
- p. 45. *nuance* : see above, on p. 41.
- p. 48. *advocatus dei* : God's advocate. The opponent, in mediæval plays, of the " Devil's advocate."
- p. 49. *naïveté* : artlessness.
- p. 50. *valeurs* : values.
- p. 51. *il ne cherche le vrai que pour faire le bien* : he only looks for truth so as to do good.

- p. 54. *pour être*, etc.: to be a good philosopher one must be dry, clear and free from illusions. A banker who has made a fortune has part of the character requisite for making philosophical discoveries, that is to say, for seeing clearly into things as they are.
- p. 64. *homines religiosi*; see on X., p. 290.
imperium Romanum; see on X., p. 116.
- p. 65. *absurdissimum*: most absurd.
nuance; see above, on p. 41.
- p. 67. *type vécu*: a type that has lived.
- p. 69. *disons*, etc.: let us then say boldly that religion is a product of the normal man, that man is nearest to truth when he is most religious and most assured of a boundless destiny. . . . It is when he is good that he wishes virtue to correspond to an eternal order: it is when he looks at things in a disinterested way that he finds death revolting and absurd. How can we fail to presume that it is at such moments that man sees best?
la niaiserie religieuse par excellence: religious stupidity at its height.
delicatezza: delicacy.
- p. 70. *unio mystica et physica*: physical and mystical union.
- p. 71. *rococo*: appertaining to the false classicism of the eighteenth century.
- p. 72. *attentat*: attack.

- p. 74. *circulus vitiosus deus*: God is a vicious circle.
- p. 78. *homines religiosi*; see on X., p. 290.
- p. 88. *tempo*; see above, on p. 41.
- p. 91. *pia fraus*: pious fraud.
- p. 96. *dans*, etc.: in real love it is the soul that envelops the body.
- p. 97. *buona*, etc.: Good women and bad women need the stick.
- p. 100. *Utile*: the useful, the expedient.
- p. 104. *neminem*, etc.: injure no man, nay, rather help all so far as you can.
- p. 106. *laisser-aller*: letting matters slide.
- p. 110. *amour-passion*: passionate love.
- p. 111. *πρόσθε Πλάτων* (*prosthe Platon*), etc.: Plato in front, Plato behind, and a goat in the middle. A parody of Homer's description of the fabulous monster Chimera—"a lion in front, a snake behind, and a goat in the middle."
- p. 114. *quidquid*, etc.: whatever he was in daylight, he acts over in darkness.
- p. 115. *licentia morum*: licence of morals.
- p. 123. *res publica*: commonwealth.
- p. 127. *ni dieu ni maître*; see above, on p. 32.
- p. 133. *montrer ses plaies*: to display one's wounds.
- p. 134. *otium*; see on X., p. 254.

- p. 139. *ipsissimosity*: abstract formed from the superlative of the Latin *ipse*, "self."
- p. 141. *caput mortuum*: lit. "dead head." A chemical term, used by Nietzsche in its older sense, i.e. the dry residue left over after the distillation of mineral products.
tour de force: feat of skill.
je ne méprise presque rien: I despise scarcely anything.
- p. 142. *presque*: almost.
rien: nothing.
- p. 143. *bonæ voluntatis*: of good will.
- p. 145. *l'art pour l'art*: art for art's sake.
- p. 148. *cet*, etc.: that fatalistic, ironic, mephistophelian spirit.
- p. 149. *Voilà un homme*: there is a man.
- p. 155. *presto*; see above, on p. 41.
- p. 161. *bêtise bourgeoise*: middle-class stupidity.
- p. 162. *homo bonæ voluntatis*: man of good will.
- p. 163. *désintéressé*: disinterested.
- p. 165. *bonhomme*: worthy fellow.
- p. 166. *barocco*: baroque.
in moribus et artibus: morals and art.
in puncto: in detail.
- p. 168. *esprit vaste*: wasteful mind.
- p. 174. *ce sénateur Pocourante*: that easy-going Parliamentarian. Pocourante, lit. "care-little."
Tartuffism; see above, on p. 10.

- p. 176. *sans genie et sans esprit*: without genius and without wit.
- p. 202. *noli me tangere*: don't touch me.
- p. 203. *rubate*: robbed.
- p. 208. *res facta*: thing made.
res nata: thing born.
- p. 209. *res ficta et picta*: thing feigned and painted.
aere perennius: enduring; see on VI., p. 36.
- p. 210. *je méprise*: I despise.
- p. 213. *âme française*: French soul.
noblesse: nobility.
- p. 214. *bourgeois*: middle-class person.
âme moderne: modern soul.
l'art pour l'art; see above, on p. 145.
- p. 215. *romanciers*: novelists.
boulevardiers de Paris: Parisian men about town.
in voluptate psychologica: in psychological pleasure.
- p. 219. *lento*: slow (musical term).
- p. 229. *désintéressement*: disinterestedness.
- p. 230. *raffinement*: refinement.
- p. 231. *un bonhomme*; see above, on p. 165. The sense as usual is contemptuous.
- p. 232. *gai saber*: joyful wisdom. Nietzsche Germanised this Provençal phrase as the title of one of his books.
- p. 234. *polis*: city (especially as "city-state").

p. 235. *nuances*; see above, on p. 41.

p. 236. *cornucopias*: horns of plenty.

p. 238. *différence engendre haine*: difference begets hatred.

p. 239. *demi-monde*: half-world.

p. 240. *furca*: pitchfork.

naturam expellere: to drive out nature.

usque recurret: will always run back.

The whole refers to a line of Horace:

“*naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*”: drive out Nature with a pitchfork, nevertheless she will always return.

p. 244. *progressus in simile*: progress towards the similar.

p. 252. *contradictio in adjecto*; see above, on p. 23.

p. 256. *vertu est enthousiasme*: virtue is enthusiasm.

XIII. THE GENEALOGY OF MORALS.

p. 4. *a priori*; see on I., p. 123.

par excellence: above all.

p. 9. *Tartuffism*; see on XII., p. 10.

p. 17. *partie honteuse*: privy part.

vis inertie; see on XI., p. 295.

p. 20. *esprit de corps*: corporate spirit.

p. 21. *désintéressé*: disinterested.

- p. 23. *Schlecht*: bad.
schlicht: simple. The two following words
both mean "simply."
- p. 24. ἔσθλος (*esthlos*): good.
- p. 25. κακός (*kakos*): bad.
δειλός (*deilos*): cowardly.
ἀγαθός (*agathos*): good, courageous.
μέλας (*melas*): black.
malus: bad.
Hic niger est: this man is black.
- p. 26. *bonus*: good.
bellum: war.
Entzweiung: division into two.
duo: two.
gut: good.
- p. 28. *unio mystica*: mystic union.
- p. 32. *sub hoc signo*: under this flag.
- p. 33. *quaeritur*: it is doubtful.
- p. 36. δειλός (*deilos*): see above, on p. 25.

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|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| δειλαιός (<i>deilaios</i>) | } These words all mean "wretched." |
| πονηρός (<i>ponēros</i>) | |
| μοχθηρός (<i>mochthēros</i>) | |

οἰζυρός (*oizuros*): woeful.

| | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| ἀνόλβος (<i>anolbos</i>) | } unhappy. |
| τλήμων (<i>tlēmōn</i>) | |

δυστυχεῖν (*dustuchein*): to be unfortunate.
ξυμφορά (*xumphora*): accident, misfortune.
εὖ πράττειν (*eu prattein*): to fare well.
γενναῖος (*gennaios*): noble.

- p. 39. *inter pares*: among equals.
- p. 41. ῥαθυμία (*rhathumia*): nonchalance.
- p. 48. *chef d'œuvre*: masterpiece.
- p. 51. *beati*, etc.: happy in the heavenly kingdom, they shall behold the tortures of the damned, in order that their own happiness may be more delightful to them.
- p. 52. *atenim*, etc.: Yet there remain other spectacles, that final and eternal day of judgment, that day unlooked for by the nations, that dayscoffed at of men, when so great a legacy of antiquity, and so many births, shall be swallowed up in one fire. How vast will be the spectacle on that day! How I shall admire, how I shall laugh, how I shall rejoice, how I shall exult, when I behold so many kings and so mighty groaning with Jove himself and their own witnesses in nethermost darkness! Ay, and the magistrates, the persecutors of the name of the Lord, often in flames more fierce than the leaping flames which their wrath kindled against the Christians!

Moreover, what wise and famous philosophers shall I see, glowing in the same conflagration as their disciples, whom they persuaded that God cared for naught on earth, whom they taught that souls either existed not or would not return to their former bodies! And poets, too, quaking before the judgment-

seat, not of Rhadamanthus or of Minos, but of an unexpected Christ! Then must we hear the tragedians speak more loudly, cry more piercingly, when the tragedy is their own: then must we recognise the comic actors, looser than ever when loosened by fire: then must we behold the charioteer all glowing in his chariot of fire, then must we contemplate the athletes displaying themselves not in the gymnasium but in the flames, unless even then I should rather not look at them, but feast my insatiable eyes upon those that have raged against the Lord.

“This,” I should say to them “is your carpenter’s son, your harlot’s son, your Sabbath-breaker, your Samaritan, who was possessed of demons. This is the man whom you bought from Judas; this is He whom you struck with reed and fist, whom you contemptuously spat upon, whom you made to drink gall and vinegar. This is He whom his disciples secretly stole, that He might be said to have risen again; or whom—in your other version—the gardener took away, lest his own lettuces should be damaged by the crowd of visitors.”

What prætor or consul or pagan priest in his munificence will give thee the chance of gazing on such a sight, of exulting in such joys? And yet even now (at the present hour) we in a measure have them by faith

in the picturing of our imagination. But
 what are the things that eye hath not seen,
 nor ear heard and which have not so much
 as dimly dawned upon the human heart?
 Whatever they are, they are more delightful,
 I think, than circus and both theatres and
 every race course.

[For an interesting if unsympathetic criticism
 of this passage—the superb cadence of
 which is impossible to render in English
 —see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. xv.]

- p. 61. *tabula rasa*: a clean slate.
- p. 62. *vis inertiae*; deadweight.
- p. 71. *si plus*: if they have cut more or less, let it
 cause no prejudice.
- p. 72. *de faire*, etc.: in doing harm for the pleasure
 of doing it.
- p. 73. *sympathia malevolens*: malevolent sympathy.
- p. 74. *les nostalgies de la croix*: home-sickness for
 the Cross.
- tour de force*; see on XII., p. 141.
- p. 81. *Elend*: misery (originally "exile").
- p. 82. *væ victis*: woe to the vanquished!
- p. 83. *compositio*: compounding (for crimes).
- p. 84. *causa fiendi*: immediate cause (lit. cause of
 happening).
- p. 89. *toto cælo*: altogether.
- p. 90. *progressus*: progress.
- p. 91. *misarchism*: hatred of ruling.

- p. 93. *per analogiam*: by analogy.
- p. 95. *instrumentum*: instrument.
morsus conscientiæ: sting of conscience.
gaudium: joy.
- p. 109. *causa prima*: primary cause.
- p. 121. *morbidezza*: morbidity.
novissima gloriæ cupido: latest desire for
glory.
- p. 129. *in majorem musicæ gloriæ*: to the greater
glory of music.
- p. 131. *une promesse de bonheur*: a promise of hap-
piness.
le désintéressement: disinterestedness.
- p. 134. *instrumentum diaboli*: devil's instrument.
remedium: remedy.
- p. 135. *la bête philosophe*: the philosophic beast.
optimum: best.
- p. 136. *pereat mundus*, etc.: let the world perish, but
philosophy be made, let the philosopher
be made, let me be made!
- p. 143. *nitimur in vetitum*: we strive towards the for-
bidden.
- p. 144. *je combats*, etc.: I fight against a universal
spider's web.
- p. 145. *jus primæ noctis*: right of the first night. In
some cases (especially in France) the
feudal lord is said to have had a claim
upon his vassal's bride on the first
night of the latter's marriage. This

right is, however, probably legendary,
or at any rate it was never exercised.

vetitum: forbidden thing.

p. 151. *crux, nux, lux*: Cross, night, light.

p. 153. *ex hypothesi*: fundamentally.

p. 158. *homines bonæ voluntatis*: men of good will.

p. 167. *entre nous*: between ourselves.

p. 169. *primâ facie*: on the face of it.

p. 170. *il faut s'abêtir*: we must make ourselves
stupid.

p. 171. *hesychasts*: quietists.

p. 173. *unio mystica*; see XIII., p. 28.

p. 174. *incuria sui*: carelessness of oneself.

p. 176. *cœnacula*: clubs.

despectus sui: self-contempt.

p. 180. *causa fortior*: stronger cause.

p. 186. *evviva la morte!* long live Death!

quæritur: the question is asked.

p. 187. *magno*, etc.: next but at a great interval.

From Virgil.

in artibus et litteris: arts and letters.

p. 190. *non plus ultra*: unsurpassable.

p. 191. *despectio sui*: looking down on oneself.

p. 195. *par excellence*; see on VIII., p. 14.

secretum: secret.

Minotauros: a mythical monster, half man,
half bull.

- p. 196. *factum brutum*: raw fact.
petit fait; little event.
ce petit fatalisme: untranslatable; the normal form would be *ce petit fatalisme*, "this little fatalism," but Nietzsche substitutes *fatalisme*, from *fait*, "fact."
- p. 202. *l'habitude*, etc.: the custom of admiring the unintelligible instead of simply remaining in the unknown.
- p. 203. *elegantia syllogismi*: elegance of syllogism.
- p. 204. *species anarchistica*: the anarchistic species.
χάσμ' ὀδόντων: gap in the teeth.
- p. 206. *paralysis agitans*: agitating paralysis.
stimulantia: stimulants.
la religion de la souffrance: the religion of suffering.
- p. 209. *patere legem quem ipse tulisti*: suffer the law which you yourself have passed.
- p. 210. *faute de mieux*: for want of a better.
- p. 217. *pia fraus*; see on VII., p. 143.
- p. 218. *laisser-aller*; see on III., p. 55.

XIV. THE WILL TO POWER, VOL. I.

- p. 63. *prestissimo*: very quick (musical term).
- p. 68. *tout comprendre*, etc.: to understand all is to forgive all.
- p. 69. *un monstre et un chaos*: a monster and a chaos.
l'art pour l'art; see on XII., p. 145.

- p. 73. *un monstre*, etc.: a cheerful brute is better than a tedious sentimentalist.
- p. 76. *ruere in servitium*: to rush into slavery. From Tacitus.
- p. 77. *nouveau riche*: newly rich.
- p. 81. *propre, exact et libre*: appropriate, clear-cut and free.
- p. 83. *umanità*: humanity.
honnêtes gens: respectable folk.
la bonne compagnie: good society.
vetitum: forbidden thing.
le seigneur de Ferney: the lord of Ferney, *i.e.* Voltaire. The "citizen of Geneva" is Rousseau.
- p. 84. *un bel esprit*: a wit.
pour la, etc.: for the rabble, a rewarding and avenging God.
l'honnêteté: respectability.
hommes de lettres: men of letters.
l'insouciance: nonchalance.
- p. 85. *vide*: see.
- p. 86. *à la Rousseau*: in Rousseau's manner.
- p. 87. *Campagna romana*: the Roman Campagna, *i.e.* the country round Rome.
il fallait, etc.: Romulus must have been drunk when he thought of building a city on so ugly a site.
parce que, etc.: because no nation has borrowed less from antiquity, because Spain has undergone no classical influence.

- p. 88. *Combien*, etc.: How many leagues would I not travel on foot and how many days in prison would I not endure for the sake of hearing "Don Juan, or the Secret Marriage"? And I know nothing else for which I should make so great an effort.
- p. 89. *le ténébreux*: the mysterious one.
- p. 90. *Credo quia absurdus est*: I believe him because he is absurd.
- p. 96. *reine Thor*: pure fool.
- p. 97. *niaiserie*: stupidity.
- p. 98. *haute volée*: upper ten (lit. high flight).
- p. 100. *laisser-aller*; see on III., p. 55.
- p. 103. *demonstratio ad absurdum*: proof by reduction to absurdity.
marasmus femininus: feminine decadence.
- p. 199. *sub specie boni*: under the form of the good.
- p. 206. *infimarum*, etc.; see on VIII., p. 154.
- p. 229. *inter pares*: among equals.
- p. 231. *juste milieu*: the just mean.
- p. 238. *arrière-pensée*; see on VII., p. 270.
causa prima: first cause.
- p. 249. *pur*, etc.: pure, unmixed, crude, fresh, in all its vigour, in all its bitterness.
- p. 250. *esse*; see on V., p. 94.
operari; see on VI., p. 60.
sub specie boni; see above, on p. 199.

- p. 258. *vetitum*: forbidden thing.
- p. 260. *deus myops*: a short-sighted God.
- p. 263. *cum grano salis*: with a pinch of salt.
- p. 264. *desiderata*: things to be desired.
- p. 266. *sensorium*: sense-system.
inventarium: inventory.
- p. 282. *primum mobile*: first motive.
- p. 301. *inter pares*: among equals.
- p. 308. *in rebus moralibus*: in matters of morals.
- p. 312. *homo natura*: man as nature.
- p. 313. *factum brutum*: a raw fact.
- p. 328. *contradictio in adjecto*; see on XII., p. 23.
- p. 342. *Pensées*: Thoughts.
- p. 343. *déniaiser la vertu*: to make virtue less stupid.
- p. 344. γνῶθι σεαυτόν (*gnothi seauton*): know thyself. The motto inscribed in letters of gold on the temple of Apollo at Delphi.
- p. 345. *sophist*; see on I., p. 102.
polis; see on VI., p. 345.
deus autochthonus: god native to the soil.
force majeure: superior force.
- p. 352. *inter pares*; see above, on p. 301.
- p. 353. *esprit frondeur*: skirmishing (lit. slinging) spirit. The Fronde (ca. 1650) was the party of the Parisian Parlement opposed to Mazarin during the minority of Louis XIV.

- p. 354. *de rigueur*: compulsory.
- p. 358. *roturier*: plebeian.
ἀδιάφορα (*adiaphora*): indifferentism. One
of the main characteristics of the Stoics.
- p. 359. *non plus ultra*: unsurpassable.

XV. THE WILL TO POWER, VOL. II.

- p. 29. *a priori*; see on I., p. 123.
- p. 31. *principium contradictionis*: principle of contradiction.
- p. 43. *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* (*proton pseudos*): first falsehood.
- p. 44. *a posteriori*; see on V., p. 29.
- p. 48. *omne illud*, etc.: all is true that is perceived clearly and distinctly.
- p. 50. *simplex sigillum veri*: simple is the seal of truth.
dico: I say.
- p. 52. *une croyance*, etc.: an almost instinctive belief with me is that every man of power lies when he is speaking, and still more so when he is writing.
- p. 53. *post hoc*: after this.
propter hoc: because of this.
- p. 55. *causa finalis*: final cause.
- p. 56. *causa efficiens*: efficient cause.

- p. 60. *processus in infinitum*: march to infinity.
- p. 76. *regressus in infinitum*: retreat to infinity.
- p. 89. *primum mobile*; see on XIV., p. 282.
- p. 125. *causæ finales, causæ efficientes*: final causes, efficient causes.
- p. 138. *progressus*, etc.: progress to infinity.
- p. 154. *l'animal*, etc.: the animal never makes progress as a species. Man alone has made progress as a species.
- p. 155. *dénaturer la nature*: go against nature.
- p. 157. *sui generis*: unique.
- p. 200. *jus talionis*; see on VII., p. 202.
- p. 217. *les grandes*, etc.: "the great souls are not those which have fewer passions and more virtues than common souls, but those which have greater designs."
- p. 226. *pulchrum*; see on VII., p. 64.
- p. 232. *sub specie boni*; see on XIV., p. 94.
- p. 233. *il faut vivre*, etc.: one must live, in order to live for others.
- p. 240. *παῖς παίζων*: a child playing
- p. 244. *primum mobile*; see on XIV., p. 282.
- p. 250. *pudeurs*; reticences.
- p. 252. *l'art pour l'art*: art for art's sake
- p. 255. *suggestion mentale*: mental suggestion.
- p. 259. *erotica*: matters of love.

- p. 261. *vers la canaille*, etc.: towards the rabble of scrawlers.
- p. 266. *expressivo*: expressiveness.
- p. 267. *tous*, etc.: all these moderns are poets who have tried to be painters. One has looked for dramas in history.
- p. 270. *mignardise*: affectedness.
- p. 274. *pur sang*: pure-blooded.
- p. 275. *in rebus musicis*, etc.: in the matter of music and musicians.
- p. 302. *aurea mediocritas*: golden mean. From Horace.
- p. 336. *diners chez Magny*: dinners at Magny's. A famous Paris restaurant.
- p. 343. *niaiserie anglaise*: English stupidity.
Principe: Prince.
- p. 350. *delicatesse*: delicacy.
- p. 351. *Race*, etc.: race of freedmen, race of slaves torn from our hands, tributary people, new people, licence was granted you to be free, but not to us to be noble; for us everything is a right, for you everything is a favour, we are not of your community: we are complete in ourselves.
- p. 352. *μηδὲν ἄγαν* (*meden agan*): nothing in excess.
ἐγκράτεια (*enkrateia*): continence.
ἀσκησις (*askesis*): discipline, exercise.

- p. 354. *comprendre c'est égaler*: to understand is to equalise.
- p. 355. *otium*: leisure.
laisser-aller; see on III., p. 55.
- p. 368. *voluntas*: will.
- p. 377. *prava*, etc.: to correct mistakes, to strengthen what is right, and to make holy things more sublime.
- p. 381. *maledetto*, etc.: cursed be he who saddens an immortal spirit.
- p. 383. *les philosophes*, etc.: philosophers are not made to love each other. Eagles do not fly in company. We must leave that to the partridges, to the starlings. . . . To soar above and have talons, that is the lot of great geniuses.
- p. 384. *ipso facto*: of its very nature.
- p. 396. *in praxi*: in practice.
- p. 397. *dans*, etc.: in the sphere of the ideal and the impossible.
- p. 397. *son génie*: his genius has the same build and the same structure; he is one of the three sovereign spirits of the Italian Renaissance.
- p. 399. *pur, cru*: pure, raw.
- p. 402. *furore espressivo*: expressive frenzy.
- p. 408. *cul de sac*: blind alley.
- p. 412. *amor fati*; see on VIII., p. 59.

THE TWILIGHT OF IDOLS, THE ANTI-CHRIST, ETC.

p. 427. *deus sive natura* : either God or Nature.

p. 429. *regressus in infinitum* ; see above, on p. 76.
progressus ; see above, on p. 138.

creator spiritus : creator of the spirit.

XVI. THE TWILIGHT OF IDOLS, THE ANTI-CHRIST, ETC.

p. xvii. *increscunt*, etc. : my spirits rise, my valour
gathers strength from its wound.

p. 3. *pudeurs* : modesties.

panem et Circen : bread and Circe (an adapta-
tion of Juvenal's "panem et circenses"
—bread and games).

en passant : in passing.

p. 4. *contradictio*, etc. ; see on XII., p. 23.

p. 6. *On ne*, etc. : it is only when seated that one
can think and write.

p. 9, 10. *consensus sapientium* : agreement of philoso-
phers.

p. 11. *monstrum*, etc. : a freak in appearance, a freak
in soul.

buffo : grotesque.

p. 13. *Agon* : contest.

p. 14. *monstrum in animo* : freak in soul.

p. 15. *Le rigueur* : compulsory.

p. 17. *sub specie æterni* : under the form of the eternal.

p. 18. *idée fixe* : rooted idea.

- p. 20. *causa sui*: cause of itself.
ens realissimum: most real entity.
- p. 25. *Incipit*: begins.
- p. 26. *il faut*, etc.: we must kill the passions.
- p. 31. *ecce homo*!: Behold the Man!
- p. 32. *per se*: in itself.
- p. 34. *crede experto*: believe one who has tested.
- p. 36. *antecedentia*: antecedents.
- p. 37. *horrendum pudendum*: thing to be dreaded
and ashamed of.
- p. 38. *nervus sympathicus*: sympathetic nerve.
- p. 45. *termini*: ends.
- p. 49. *pia fraus*: pious fraud.
- p. 51. *Deutschland*, etc: Germany, Germany above
all!
- p. 56. *pulchrum*, etc.; see on VII., p. 64.
- p. 58. *nuances*: shades.
- p. 60. *in impuris naturalibus*: in the impure natural
state (a play on "in puris naturalibus").
lactea ubertas: milky copiousness.
- p. 64. *Lettres d'un Voyageur*: Letters of a Traveller.
- p. 70. *proprium*: peculiar characteristic.
- p. 71. *yo me*, etc.: I succeed to myself.
tamquam, etc.: as if after a success.
ut desint, etc.: though my powers fail, yet the
pleasure is worthy of praise.
- p. 78. *amor intellectualis dei*: intellectual love of God.

- p. 79, 80. *Agon*; see above, on p. 13.
l'art pour l'art: art for art's sake.
- p. 82. *aut liberi, aut libri*: either children or books.
je me verrai, etc.: I shall see myself, I shall
 read myself, I shall be in ecstasies and
 shall say: "Is it possible that I have
 been so clever?"
- p. 84. *partie honteuse*: privy part.
- p. 85. *optimum*: best.
- p. 89. *pur et vert*: downright (lit. pure and green).
- p. 91. *per se*; see above, on p. 32.
- p. 96. *in infinitum*; see on XV., p. 60.
imperium Romanum; see on X., p. 116.
- p. 100. *laisser-aller*; see on III., p. 55.
- p. 106. *il est indigne*, etc.: it is unworthy of noble
 hearts to communicate the pain which
 they feel.
grandeur de cœur: greatness of heart.
- p. 108. *in rebus tacticis*: in matters of tactics.
canaille: mob.
- p. 109. *par excellence*: downright, thorough.
- p. 110. *ens realissimum*; see above, on p. 20.
in praxi; see on XV., p. 396.
- p. 113. *ære perennius*: more enduring than bronze.
 Horace alludes thus to his own poems.
- p. 114. *satura Menippea*: medley of Menippus (a kind
 of essays in mingled prose and verse).
principe; see on XV., p. 343.

- p. 115. *niaiserie allemande*: German stupidity.
- p. 116. *Polis*; see on VI., p. 345.
- p. 117. *Cultur der Griechen*: Culture of the Greeks.
- p. 127. *largeur de cœur*: largeness of heart, broad-mindedness.
- p. 132. *praxis*: practice.
- p. 135. *peccatum originale*: original sin.
- p. 137. *par excellence*; see above, on p. 109.
- p. 140. *arrière-pensée*: afterthought.
- p. 142. *nervus sympathicus*; see above, on p. 38.
- p. 143. *ardeurs*: ardours.
- p. 146. *sub specie Spinozæ*: under the form of Spinoza.
absolutum: absolute.
- p. 147. *ultimum*: last thing.
- p. 155. *non plus ultra*: unsurpassable degree.
- p. 158. *in historicis*: in matters of history.
- p. 162. *residuum*: residue.
- p. 164. *in psychologicis*: in matters of psychology.
- p. 165. *habitus*: state.
- p. 167. *proprium*; see above, on p. 70.
- p. 168. *le grand*, etc.: the great master of irony.
esprit: wit.
impérieux: imperious.
- p. 175. *imperium Romanum*; see on X., p. 116.
- p. 179. *in psychologicis*; see above, on p. 164.

- p. 180. *canaille*; see above, on p. 108.
- p. 188. *ultima ratio*: perfection.
- p. 194. *è tutto festo*: he is a festival in himself.
- p. 196. *deus*, etc.: a God such as Paul created is the negation of God.
in praxi; see on XV., p. 396.
- p. 197. *Jungfrau von Orleans*: Maid of Orleans.
- p. 201. *absurdum*: absurdity.
- p. 203. *in majorem dei honorem*: to the greater honour of God.
folie circulaire: recurring mania.
- p. 204. *imperium*: empire.
in hoc signo: by this sign. ("In hoc signo vinces"—by this sign thou shalt conquer—is the Latin version of the motto on Constantine's banners.)
- p. 205. *superbia*: pride.
- p. 215. *immaculata conceptio*: immaculate conception.
- p. 216. *in flagranti*: red-handed.
- p. 217. *in infinitum*; see on XV., p. 60.
- p. 218. *élite*: pick.
pulchrum, etc.; see on VII., p. 64.
- p. 221. *ære perennius*; see above, on p. 113.
imperium Romanum; see on X., p. 116.
- p. 222. *sub specie æterni*; see above, on p. 17.
- p. 223. *unio mystica*: mystic union.
par excellence; see above, on p. 109.

- p. 229. *peccatum originale*; see above, on p. 135.
- p. 230. *rancunes*: rancours.
- p. 231. *humanitas*: humanity.
dies nefastus: ill-omened day (in allusion to the "unlucky days" of the ancient Roman calendar).
- p. 278. *arriviste*. We have no single equivalent for this French word. It means, one whose sole aim is the acquirement of money or position (or both)—one who "gets on" at any price.

XVII. ECCE HOMO AND POEMS.

- p. 3. *nitimur in vetitum*: we strive towards what is forbidden.
- p. 30. *alla tedesca*: in the German fashion.
- p. 32. *in vino veritas*: men speak the truth when in their cups (lit. in wine there is truth).
- p. 36. *sui generis*: unique (lit. of its own kind).
- p. 37. *largeur de cœur*: largeness of heart.
zur, etc.: contribution to the history of the epigram collection of Theognis.
de fontibus, etc.: concerning the sources of Diogenes Lærtius.
- p. 39. *ex ungue Napoleonem*: from the toe-nail (you may reconstruct) Napoleon. An adapta-

tion of the Latin proverb *ex ungu^o leonem*,
from the toe-nail (you may reconstruct)
the lion.

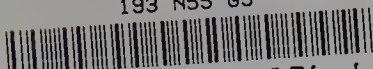
- p. 41. *hoc genus omme*: all that sort.
- p. 42. *mise-en-scène*: stage-setting.
- p. 43. *non plus ultra*: highest achievement.
- p. 49. *nosce teipsum*: know thyself.
- p. 54. *amor fati*; see on VIII., p. 59.
toutes mes audaces et finesses: all my audacities
and subtleties.
- p. 79. *Deutscher Sprachverein*: German language
union.
- p. 80. *libres penseurs*: freethinkers.
- p. 109. *dithyramb*; see on I., p. 131.
- p. 116. *petits faits*: little events.
- p. 118. *faute de mieux*: makeshift (lit. for want of a
better).
- p. 122. *ridendo dicere severum*: say stern things
laughingly. An adaptation of the Hora-
tian *ridendo dicere verum*, "to tell the
truth laughingly."
Verum dicere: to tell the truth.
- p. 123. *Deutschland*, etc.: Germany, Germany above
everything.
- p. 124. *in historicis*: in history.
névrose nationale: national disease of the
nerves.
- p. 128. *la canaille*: the rabble.

- p. 129. *esprit*: wit.
- p. 130. *amor fati*; see on VIII., p. 59.
- p. 139. *in psychologicis*: in matters of psychology.
- p. 140. *force majeure*: superior force.
- p. 142. *folie circulaire*: this French term is also used in England to denote a peculiar form of intermittent mania. The literal meaning is "circular madness."
- p. 143. *Ecrasez l'infâme*: crush the scoundrel! Voltaire's cry against Christianity.

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